Although the number of exceptions seems to be increasing, the recognized form of residence in all but secondary marriages is matrilocal.[1] Secondary marriages, where the man is already established on his own trap line, follow independent or patrilocal residence. One of the primary factors that seems to be undermining the custom of matrilocal residence is the inheritance of trap lines. In one instance this economic factor led a man to insist on both matrilocal residence for his daughter and patrilocal residence for his son. River Joe first expressed resentment when his daughter married outside of the Kaska area and took up residence in her husband's community several hundred miles away. "Where he get girl, stay there," Joe stated and pointed out that his daughter had access to a good trap line which could adequately support the couple. A few months later his son, Ted, became interested in a part Tahltan girl from the upper Dease River. Now the father affirmed that when his son married, he should remain on the family trap line. Where a young unmarried man holds ownership in a productive family trap line, or where he is anxious to acquire his own (as was Louis Maza), matrilocal residence is temporary, merely fulfilling the conditions of bride service and lasting only a year or two. When an Indian girl marries a white man independent residence is always followed. 591 587 [588]

Interesting information was obtained regarding a man's adjustment to the country in which he must operate after marriage. "First time pretty hard for me," Hans Donnelly reported. "I don't want to hunt nothing, I don't want to get lost. Now all right." From this instance it would appear that a man can learn the terrain and routes of a new area in about two years. There is no evidence that matrilocal residence poses any difficult problems of social adjustment for the man. He assumes the authority in his own family, lives in his own dwelling and, except for offering meat and other assistance to his father-in-law, pursues his own economic interests. 591 123

Adoption of young children is often practiced to increase the size of the nuclear family. The principal motives are the desire to insure future economic assistance and to provide care and subsistence for an orphan or half orphan whose surviving parent cannot effectively do so. While there are no fixed rules defining adoption, in general the relationship is assumed to be permanent and any measures taken by a surviving parent to abrogate it are regarded with resentment. Nevertheless adoption is often temporary and children often reclaimed by parents or by parents' siblings. Adopted children ideally achieve the status of true children. Manifestly, however, they may be overworked and sometimes are even more deprived of emotional satisfaction than true children. There is reluctance to adopt children who, it is feared, are not normal or healthy. 597

The private life of the Kaska family is not easy to observe. This is due to the social isolation maintained by the family, as well as to the slight interaction that is manifested publicly between spouses. While several newly married couples revealed signs of close emotional attachment, it is not usual for older ones to demonstrate any considerable amount of affection except possibly when intoxicated. Terms of endearment also seem to be lacking in the conversation of husband and wife, although a number of men (especially when drunk) were observed to address their wives as "mama." The general pattern of relations between marriage 593

---

[1] Generalization based primarily on Upper Liard River data.

Following birth the baby is not fed for one day and is then put to the mother's breast. The parturient usually remains in bed for four days to a week, and during this period her husband or grown daughters take over the household duties. In summer a mother may be seen carrying her infant through town within two weeks after delivery and by this time she has also resumed most of her customary duties (Plate 4, c). 846

Children born out of wedlock or conceived in adulterous sexual relations are regarded as illegitimate. All illegitimacy is deplored, but the incidence of premarital motherhood appears to be quite low. The child of an unmarried mother may be cared for by the girl herself or entrusted to the care of grandparents. Once illegitimate children are grown, their status is not different from that of other persons and no evidence of discrimination against them could be observed. 848

The only two cases observed of extreme rejection of infants involved illegitimate children. Irene Wiley gave birth to Irma a short time after she had been deserted by her husband, who disapproved of her promiscuity. She did not want the infant, neglected its feeding and care, and often abandoned it in her mosquito tent for long periods while she went riding with soldiers. One cold night in August, 1944, Irene's father's brother's wife found the eight months old baby uncovered and so cold that it had to be washed with warm water. Although news of this incident reached the police, who publicly reprimanded the mother at a dance, Irene did not improve her care of the infant. Commenting on the child Louis Maza once observed: "That baby ruin himself. Nobody take care of him. Mother don't care. Never change him . . . Some people tough. Me, I can't do that." River Joe, Irene's paternal uncle, said: "My heart sick I hear that baby cry. Sometimes I take care of him." The extent of his care, so far as could be observed, consisted of occasionally feeding Irma sugar cookies. In 1945, when Irma was about two years old and retarded in her development, Irene began to manifest somewhat more attention toward the child. 848 854 626

A second instance of a young mother neglecting her newborn illegitimate infant occurred after the native woman's husband had refused to permit her to keep the child. Although the putative father, a married man, was easily identifiable, no effort was made to induce this man to accept responsibility. Instead both parents left the baby in a tent at Lower Post while they went to visit friends two hundred miles up Dease River. The child was subsequently cared for by the mother's sister and later somewhat reluctantly adopted by its maternal grandmother. For her behavior the mother is reported to have been censured by the Indian Agent during his visit to Lower Post. 848 851 854 597 626

Children are usually named soon after birth, a Christian saint's name being decided upon by the parents or suggested by the missionary if the baby is brought for baptism. Sometimes naming is neglected for several months after birth. If, during this time, a friend [illegible] ethnographer named Nick's baby during the summer of 1945. In addition to a formal personal name, a family occasionally coins a nick-name for a child, but the range of such names is limited. Two common English nicknames are Boo and Peggy. 553

Children born in Lower Post are usually brought to the mission a few weeks after birth for baptism. The ceremony is little emphasized by the parents and is often delayed until the matter is pressed upon their attention by the priest. 851

866 fingers when unhappy. Withheld emotionality is displayed when an injured child runs to a
593 nearby parent. The usual response of the latter is to scold the youngster for his wild behavior and then to briskly dust his clothes. Any overtures of kindness and affection are readily responded to, however, and girls in particular never lose a responsiveness to caresses and bodily contacts by older siblings and other women.

855 The father, who has never been so demonstrative as the mother in his affectional han-
866 dling of the infant, retains some of his more moderate warmth, and we have even observed
593 instances of a father picking up a lap baby whose fretfulness went unnoticed by the mother. Thus when Richard Cross, five, hurt himself while playing he ran to his father, who lifted him and tried to distract him from crying by pointing out a horse across the river, murmuring: "Crying bad animal." Although the man's attention to young children is limited by his economic activities, several instances were noted of children, ranging from four to six, developing close attachments to their fathers, while the mothers were occupied with the care of younger siblings. Under such circumstances fathers often pack youngsters while traveling. Louis Man once spoke of how, when Eleanor was four years old, he packed her on his back while climbing to the timberline to trap marten. In 1945 Lorena was his constant companion, trailing him all over Lower Post. Generally, however, such close attachment between father and child affords little satisfaction to the boy or girl other than the opportunity to remain in the parent's company. Physical contact between the two is always brief. In some cases dependence of the child on the father is continued into later childhood.
[illegible] While generally it is the boy who, beginning at about seven or eight, occasionally accompanies his father trapping and hunting, often daughters enter this relationship and, in thus carrying on their early emotional attachment to the father, learn skills which are usually expected to be transmitted to sons.

● 587 When, as frequently happens, the family through death is deprived of the presence of
855 one or both parents, the process of emotional rejection becomes more severe. Over ten per
593 cent of the children in Kaska society at the time of field work had lost either one or both parents. Emotional withdrawal is particularly strong in the case of adopted children and orphans who, although they may receive physical care from foster parents or grandparents, receive little emotional gratification. One exception to this statement was observed in the behavior of the Cross brothers' mother, who was raising the four year old son of her late daughter. The child was never seen separated from this very old lady who would sit with his head in her lap, murmur to him constantly, and devotedly keep flies and mosquitoes away from his face. This is extremely atypical behavior toward a child of that age.

593 Obviously the pattern of family relationships which has been described offers a child
[illegible] little opportunity for self-display. [illegible] temporarily transform the family into an audience ready to laugh and applaud the child's behavior. It is interesting to observe the eagerness with which young children from four to six respond to such stimulation. Beyond that age, however, while interest in children is slight and, as we shall see, when it appears is most often practical and educative.

862 If the child continues to live with both parents, the father is ideally regarded as the more
855 important disciplinarian. Usually, however, it is the mother who actually punishes. The chief aim of punishment is to make the child submissive to, or "scared" of, the parents. Such

6. Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

FAMILY AND KIN

UPPER LIARD KASKA. While the nuclear or conjugal family certainly served [594]
important functions in the life of the aboriginal Kaska Indians, this unit was
normally incorporated in a larger extended family that linked a woman and her daugh- 596
ters. Typically such an extended family included a man, his wife, perhaps her sisters
and their husbands, married daughters and their husbands, unmarried sons, and the 592
unmarried children of the married daughters. An extended family often constituted the microcosmic band, to which additional unrelated individuals of either sex attached themselves. In winter the band or extended family sometimes shared a large conical house, although households containing two sisters and their families of procreation were also common. The distinction between nuclear family, extended family, and household is illustrated in *Figure 6*. Here the broken lines (enclosing individuals A, B, C, D, G, H, and I) indicate a household in which A, B, and C are members of one nuclear family and D, G, H, and I belong to another. In this diagram E, F, J, and K constitute another and adjacent household. While the children, J and K, would probably spend most of their time in their parent's dwelling they would be equally at home in the household of the maternal grandparents. Daughters tended to establish households quite soon after marriage, perhaps because of the strong avoidance governing the relations of a man and his mother-in-law. Not all microcosmic bands conformed to the matrilocal extended 621
family here outlined. Sometimes a band formed around the nucleus of two brothers and their wives. Daughters on occasion also left their parents' band after marriage to take up residence with their husbands' kin. Bands tended to be fluid among most Arctic-drainage Athapaskan groups and few pressures could be relied upon to maintain any particular type of organization. A man lacking skill in hunting might join with his wife's family, expecting the latter's brother or father to furnish a dependable source of meat. Should his unproductive presence come to be resented, friction might send him to rejoin his own parental group. If his skill or "luck" improved he would be able to fulfill the ideal expectations of a son-in-law or might decide to go off with his wife to shift for himself. Adoption, which was widely practiced, also complicated the composition of
Indian groupings. Orphans as well as children whose parents still lived were adopted, 597 ●
the latter being somewhat better treated than parentless children. It is interesting to note that a parent who subsequently wanted an adopted child returned had to offer payment [illegible]

[illegible] in cases when the foster parents were guilty of mistreatment.

[illegible] relationship terms employed by the Upper Liard Indians: 601

[illegible]
[illegible] MoFa, FaFa, FaSiHu (m.s.), WiFa (m.s.), HuFa (w.s.).
[illegible] MoMo, FaMo, FaSi, FaSiWi (m.s.), WiMo (m.s.), HuMo (w.s.).
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

Upper Liard

clear at this point whether the informant meant to describe an ideal or manifest pattern. 682
The murderer's escape from the area brought about an at least temporary halt in proceedings. Instead of seeking retaliation the family of the slain man might, through a kindly disposed headman, press for the adoption of the murderer in place of the victim. [597] This may have occurred when the two were both young and of about the same age. The murderer's family always put pressure upon its member to accede to such a request. He then grew up as the son in the other family, and appropriate kinship terms defined his position (X). [266] No punishment existed for attempted suicide. Cannibalism, a practice apparently regarded as habit-forming, earned banishment and, as a further consequence, death by starvation. People were dissuaded from sorcery by the logical argument that the deed would result in insanity. 754 Interpersonal punishment for sorcery was not mentioned by informants. Similar magical retaliation followed incest, but public opinion 684 dealt very harshly with those members of the community who committed incestuous offenses. 626 Overwhelmed by shame and guilt in such circumstances, an unhappy man might tear off his penis or leap into the fire. Most grievous of all was incest between brother and sister.

> A brother wanted his married sister but couldn't get her. He went one day to hunt beaver with the girl's husband. [539] This man had a premonition that he was going to be attacked and the sister dreamed of her brother assaulting her husband. The brother succeeded in wounding his brother-in-law after which he returned to the dwelling with a beaver. The girl refused to eat the meat until her husband would return. When he didn't come back soon, she started out to look for him. She found him lying wounded at the beaver house. After treating his wounds she asked him to kill her brother, which he did.

An unwed mother felt ashamed when she brought forth a child. 848 Sometimes, especially in summer, the community further punished the offense by forcing the girl into a month's exile, during which she subsisted mainly by clubbing porcupines. People intended the punishment to teach her sense and prevent repetition of such behavior. If they knew the baby's father, pressure might be placed on him to marry the mother. Such a marriage would not long endure, it was believed, because a girl who became impregnated outside of marriage was too wild to make a good wife. The lover might also give a small gift to the girl's father, thus acknowledging his offense. An illegitimate baby was fairly well treated if it survived the mother's banishment.* [578] People recalled its status, however, and in later years a man might be taunted with the appellation [illegible] ("slave"). Such jeers rankled and sometimes led a man to fight his detractors.

An unfaithful wife and her paramour ideally shared in the condemnation of adultery. 684 Generally, direct punishment fell on the woman alone. In the presence of an economy that forced men to leave their wives in camp while they hunted, plenty of opportunity for adultery existed. Chronic jealousy and suspicion haunted husbands. Returning to camp some men closely inspected the spruce brush in the dwelling. Should they find it "tipped over" or upset, evidence of the woman's unfaithfulness was presumed. Punishment for adultery consisted in beating the guilty wife or divorcing her, with resultant

---

* Among the Tlingit the killing of an illegitimate baby by stuffing its mouth with moss or grass had magical repercussions. If neglected "very bad luck will follow the family, or clan." Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* (1914), 48.